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The International Press Correspondence proposes to give a true picture of the political and economic situation prevailing in the various countries; it proposes to describe the important events of the proletarian class struggle and the stand and progress of our movement; it will furthermore publish all communications of the C. I. which are destined for the public. Prominent comrades in all countries, who are working in close collaboration with their respective Parties will contribute to the Correspondence. Through furnishing correct knowledge of the situation in the individual countries and through the international collaboration at this work it is intended to weld the various parties together and facilitate co-operation between them.

Editorial Board.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Hands off Russia!

By Ernst Meyer (Berlin).

Soviet Russia, alleged to be bloodthirsty and terroristic, has like no other state tried time and again to live in peace and friendship with other countries. Immediately after the October Revolution in 1918 the former allies of Tzarist Russia commenced their attacks upon Soviet Russia. Since that time the imperialists in all countries have periodically stirred up wars against Soviet Russia and have supported counter-revolutionary generals with money, munitions and advice. Hence, Soviet Russia who had had no army at the beginning of her existence was compelled to create a Red Army, which however served only the purposes of defense. Soviet Russia would have been only too glad if her counter-revolutionary enemies both at home and abroad had permitted her to demobilise this Red Army and employ it in economic reconstruction work, instead of having to devote time to the building up of the army. In the Spring 1920 part of the army had already been dissolved into workers' troops, when in the following Summer Poland at the command of France frivolously attacked Soviet Russia, thus forcing the latter to rearm herself.

During these weeks it became apparent that the workers throughout the world understood how the overthrow of the Soviets would react upon themselves. The proletariat of various countries spontaneously opposed their masters who were conspiring against Soviet Russia. This sentiment which found expression in the warning "hands off Russia!" reached its greatest proportion in England. Thus Russia in spite of the peace favouring Poland was enabled to devote her energies to the work of reconstruction and even to go new ways, which made it possible for the capitalist countries to enter into relations with Soviet Russia on the basis of capitalist exchange of commodities.

The catastrophe of nature and its attendant evil, the famine, is now encouraging the lurking enemies to renew their attacks upon Soviet Russia. France cannot forget that she is

the Tzar; time and again she intrigued against Soviet Russia and now cynically and frivolously advises her vassals, Poland and Roumania, to exploit Russia's difficult situation and deal a deadly blow to the famishing workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. Thus France whose bourgeois government has in the course of the last few months suffered many a political defeat in the Allied councils, hopes to raise her prestige. Poland, who by reason of England's protest will be given but at part of Upper Silesia and whose economics and finances are completely ruined, welcomes every adventure as a way out of her difficulties; hence she is overjoyed to be allowed to act as mercenary of France and becomes the latter's willing instrument. If success is not forthcoming in the West, in Upper Silesia, it will perhaps not fail to materialise in the East in a campaign against Soviet Russia. Roumania who under the last of the Hohenzollerns has become a bulwark of counter-revolution prepares for war against Soviet Russia. Hungary looks on benevolently and waits for a favourable moment in which to draw her sword against Soviet Russia, the same sword that is already stained with the blood of thousands of workers.

England still thinks her position threatened by the spread of the Bolshevik ideas in Asia and by the attempts of the colonial peoples enslaved by her imperialism to regain their freedom. England, however, cannot prove that Soviet Russia has been encroaching upon her sphere of interests. In an official note sent to the Soviet Government England justifies the steps taken against Russia with the Third Congress of the C. I. The English bourgeoisie's hatred of Russia though it is clothed in the forms of polite diplomatic notes, is nevertheless very powerful indeed and is apparently this time exchanging the formal neutrality for a decidedly hostile attitude against Soviet Russia.

The bourgeois German republic whose anti-Bolshevik policy has proved a deplorable failure, has decided to take up an attitude of formal neutrality thus repeating the policy adopted in Summer 1920. Independent of this, however, the reactionaries who, on their own account, have repeatedly participated in the attacks on Soviet Russia will be only too glad of a chance to bring their iron divisions into action. Having already last winter by means of trusted go-betweens put a plan for the defeat of Russia before the Allied statesmen, Ludendorff has recently deigned to grant an interview to a journalist of the "arch-enemy" (Sauerwein of the *Matin*) during which he once more developed a plan for the overthrow of Soviet Russia.

Thus, the bourgeois counter-revolution is bestirring itself throughout the world. Stagnation on the markets, restriction of production, unemployment, increase of prices and the rest of the social effects of the capitalist system of production and domination shall be veiled from the eyes of the workers by a fresh wave of anti-Bolshevik agitation and by a new war against Soviet Russia. The workers should clearly comprehend this plot; they should not allow themselves to forget that Russia is the bulwark of the World Revolution. The overthrow of Russia would automatically result in a ruthless suppression of all attempts to gain freedom throughout the world; it would result in a lengthening of the working hours and in political oppression. Hence, the workers of the world must get ready and answer to the plots of the international bourgeoisie with the united determination of the world proletariat:

Hands off Soviet Russia!

Theses adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Washington Conference.

I. The Washington Conference.

The conference called to be held in Washington by the United States of America for the purpose of settling the problems of the Far East and of discussing the restriction of armaments, is the latest in the series of unsuccessful attempts undertaken by capitalist society in order to find a way out of the insoluble contradictions upon which the imperialist war has thrown a glaring light and which it has proved incapable to solve. The idea of a "Mittel Europa" (Middle Europe) and that of a League of Nations have successively failed. English and German capitalism, one after the other, have proved themselves incapable of organising the world on such a basis, where, though the exploitation of one nation by another still remains, it would nevertheless mean the disappearance of armaments and the danger of war. To-day, three years after the ending of the War and two years after the conclusion of peace, Europe may be likened to a cage wherein wild beasts are fighting for a gnawed off bone and are taken care of by tamers, who from time to time throw a fresh bone to the beasts or whip them when occasion requires. After victorious capitalism has demonstrated its qualifications as organiser of the world, in such splendid fashion, the United States of America, who were a party to the Versailles attempt of forming a League of Nations, and who then refused to join this League, her own handiwork, is for the second time taking the initiative in settling the (to her the most important) problems of the Pacific Ocean, or in other words, the conflicts in the Far East. After this question has been settled, the question of disarmament as one of world wide significance is to be discussed. These are the questions intended to be solved by the Washington Conference. But this attempt, like all prior ones will fail. At best, it can but end with a regrouping of the various powers and with an intensification of existing differences. This is obvious if one enumerates the driving forces on the part of the United States, England and Japan, and if one defines the contradictions of these forces.

II. The Return of the United States of America to Europe.

The United States withdrew from the League of Nations, first, because England, with six votes at her disposal, put the English stamp upon the League, and secondly, because the capitalists of America did not feel inclined to guarantee the geographical frontiers of a world poorly patched together by the peace-treaty of Versailles, and thirdly, because the capitalist clique as represented by the republican party wished to exploit the fact that the petty-bourgeois masses had grown tired of Europe in order to push the capitalistic clique as represented by the democratic party away from the pork barrel. The United States could not withdraw from world politics, however, because European capitalists and the Allies owe her 20 billion dollars. The development of the European conflicts did not only decide whether or not the debtors will be able to pay their debts, but also, whether or not the United States will be able to keep up the industry developed during the War. As recently as 1919, part of the American capitalists did not believe that their prosperity was depending upon the economic development of Europe. The deep crisis of the years 1920/21 proved even to the American farmers that America cannot export her products to Europe, if European economy keeps on decaying. For this reason the United States has already taken part in settling the question of the German reparations; she is now participating in the settling of the Upper Silesian question by the Supreme Council; she has taken a stand on the famine problem of Russia. To make a long story short: the United States has rejoined the true representative of victorious world capitalism, the Supreme Council which has made a puppet of the council of the League of Nations. The United States is endeavouring to gain control in the Supreme Council and is exploiting the present difficult situation of her English competitor to this end.

III. England's Situation.

In order to win the War, England was obliged to make use of her colonies for war purposes. The colonies have economically been strengthened by the War and were given, in 1918, the nominal right of having a voice in deciding the foreign policy of Great Britain. Now English imperialism must keep its promise made in 1917, because it is unable to bear alone

the burden of the naval preparations which it believes necessary to keep up not only against the United States, but against its allies France and Japan as well; and, because English imperialism must take the colonies as powerful factors into account. Great Britain has been replaced by a federation of Great Britain and her self-governing capitalist colonies whose foreign interests are not those of their mother country. English imperialism wants to continue the alliance with Japan in order to have an ally in case of conflict with the States and, further, in order to assume the role of arbitrator between American and Japanese imperialism, after having duly stirred up the American-Japanese differences. Youthful Canadian capitalism which, by reason of its closeness, is becoming more and more depending upon the United States cannot, on its side, afford a disturbance of relations to its powerful neighbor. At the recent Dominion Conference, Canada opposed a renewal of the alliance with Japan and declined to be bound by an eventual renewal. Australia whose only possible enemy is Japan would, in case of conflict with the latter, find an ally in the United States. The farmers of South Africa decline to mix in world political conflicts. *This attitude of its most important colonies is depriving English imperialism of the freedom of movement in regard to the United States.*

Increasing economic competition between Great Britain and the United States raises for both countries the question whether or not this competition in the atmosphere of unsolved world political differences will eventually result in an increase of competitive armaments which, on its part, would lead to a new world war. Great Britain's situation in such a war would be more difficult than in the World War, because while on one hand she could not wholly rely on her colonies she would, on the other hand very probably have as an enemy France whose attempt to dominate — by a network of vassal states like Poland, Czechoslovakia and Roumania — Continental Europe, and whose policy in the Near East place her more and more in opposition to Great Britain. English imperialism has helped to destroy not only the naval, but also the military strength of German capitalism. Disarmament of German capitalism has established French militarism as the deciding factor on the European Continent. The development of far-carrying howitzers and of air and submarine craft would, in case of war, enable this deciding factor, as an ally of the United States, not only to carry out an absolute blockade of England, but effect a landing there as well. This situation is compelling the English Government to try and come to an understanding with the United States. Object of this understanding is the formation of a capitalist Anglo-Saxon trust. *The United States will be the centre of gravity of this trust while Japan is to carry the cost of it.*

IV. The Isolation of Japan.

Japanese imperialism has at very little expense to itself amassed riches during the War by manufacturing munitions for the Allies and by exploiting England's situation which prevented her from furnishing her colonies with manufactured goods. Having at the beginning of the War shrewdly, prevented China from participating in it, Japan forcibly took away Kiautchau and the Province of Shantung from German imperialism and put herself in the latter's place. She poured oil on China's internal troubles and posing as an organiser exploited them in order to gain mastery over the vast empire which, under the leadership of the bourgeois South, is slowly groping its way from feudalist disunity to unity.

The results of the War threaten to deny the Japanese the fruits of their victory. Germany's defeat, the disappearance of Russia as an imperialistic factor which could join Japan in pillaging expeditions — all this makes it necessary for Japan to rely wholly upon England for assistance against the United States.

V. The Plans of the United States in the Far East.

In her search for markets to satisfy her gigantic needs for economic expansion, the United States is casting her eyes towards China and Russia, and especially Siberia, to be captured as fields for investment of American capital. The monopoly the United States is enjoying as the world's creditor and, further, the ability of American industry to compete not only with the Japanese industry, but with the English as well prompt the United States to oppose the imperialistic privileges formerly acquired in China and recently in Siberia by the older imperialist states France, England and Japan. The United States, under the slogan of the "open door in China" coined by the American secretary of State John Hay as far back as 1900, is trying to force Japan back; her treatment of the question of the wireless stations on the island of Yap goes far to prove that she is determined to take up the battle along the whole front

This policy of the United States is threatening English interests, though to a less degree than the Japanese. Not only, because England, a capitalistically stronger state, is a better match for the American competition than Japan, but also, because the Pacific question, vital for Japan, is only of secondary importance to England. Hence, Japan can rely upon England only to a certain extent. Obligated to choose between Japan and the United States, England will side with the latter. The Washington Conference therefore represents a diplomatic attempt on the part of the United States to snatch the fruits of victory away from Japan.

VI. Possible Results of the Washington Conference.

The preliminary condition for any restriction whatsoever of the military preparations in the Pacific and for a division of the spheres of authority on the sea, is the outcome of the diplomatic negotiations on the disputed Pacific problems. England will side with Japan and endeavour to bring about a compromise between the United States and Japan, enabling her to continue the alliance with Japan by formally including the United States in this alliance. The military value of the alliance with Japan would be great in case of war with the United States, while its diplomatic value in settling any possible disputes with the same power is not to be underestimated. The compromise is to be brought about either by Japan receiving compensations in the way of privileges in Siberia or by the United States being given concessions in China, or the right to share in the exploitation of the naphta-fields Mesopotamia's etc.; etc. If England succeeds in bringing about this compromise, she will, within the English-Japanese-American alliance, endeavour to get into especially close relations with Japan. Thereafter an agreement will be arrived at by the three contracting powers providing for such naval preparations that will not be considered as dangerous competition. If the powers are unable, however, to reach an agreement on the points under discussion, it will result in a boundless economic struggle and formation of an American-English trust and in a competition in naval armaments which will know no limits. Thus, if the first case comes true, we shall witness the attempt to cheat Japan of part of the fruits of her victory in favour of the United States and at the expense of China and, perhaps, Soviet Russia. An agreement of this kind would prove to be the starting point of diplomatic regroupings and new world political conflicts, after the fashion of the peace of Chimonoseki where Russia, Germany and France endeavoured to snatch away from Japan the fruits of her victory over China. If an agreement is not arrived at, however, the process of intensification of the existing conflicts will develop more rapidly, and under no circumstances will these conflicts disappear. In that case the economic conflict between England and America continues to be the foremost world problem. The French-English conflict remains as before. In the background of these conflicts dividing the world of capitalist victors looms the latter's conflict with the defeated capitalist countries as for instance Germany and, further, with the colonial peoples and, finally, with Soviet Russia who forms a gap in the bulwark of capitalist states.

VII. The Washington Conference and the Communist International.

The attempt to settle the question of restriction of armaments on the European Continent is doomed to failure. France will not forego her state of preparedness, although, considering the complete disarmament of Germany, that state is no longer imperative for her security, and give up the position of first military power in Europe, because the policy of French imperialism strives to dominate the European Continent. Aside from France, there exist her vassal states which by the peace of Versailles and the succeeding treaties were allotted territory inhabited by an alien and hostile population. Poland has a great many Ukrainian, Little-Russian and German inhabitants while Czecho-Slovakia may be likened to the former Austrian Empire, because, apart from Czecho-Slovaks, it is populated by Germans, Czechians and Hungarians. A great many Hungarians and Bessarabians have passed under Roumanian domination. Central, Southern and Eastern Europe is to-day built upon bayonets. In the Near East, France, from one of her African possessions, Syria, is endeavouring to flank England's most vital spot, the Suez Canal. This flanking movement is intended to interfere with the English policy of creating — by means of the territory of a great Arab state depending upon English imperialism — a line of communication between Egypt and India. In order to compel France to forego her preparations in such a situation, England had to come to an agreement

How little the capitalist powers themselves believe in the likelihood of disarmament, is shown by the fact that, having most heartily welcomed Harding's proposal to discuss in November the question of disarmament at Washington, the English Government immediately afterwards decided to expend 30 million pound sterling in building new warships. It justified this by pointing out that Japan is building eight dreadnoughts to be finished by 1925 and had already granted the means for another series of eight, and that in 1925 the United States would be possessed of 12 superdreadnoughts.

The Executive of the Communist International maintain that the Washington Conference will neither result in disarmament nor in universal peace and that it represents only an attempt to settle the disputes of the great Anglo-Saxon imperialist robbers at the expense of the weaker robber, Japan, of China and of Soviet Russia. Colour is lent to this perception of the character of the Washington Conference by the fact that Russia has not been invited to it, in order to make it impossible for her to expose the sinister game played at Washington with the fates of peoples.

The Executive of the Communist International warn all workers and enslaved colonial peoples against harbouring the hope that any diplomatic combination whatsoever arrived at in Washington could free them from the menace of a heavily armed capitalist world and from exploitation by capitalist states. The Executive of the Communists International call upon all Communist Parties and Trade-Unions affiliated with the Red Trade Union International to intensify the agitation and the struggle against the imperialist governments whose conflicts of interests are certain to result in a new world-wide clash, unless the Proletarian Revolution disarms the capitalist class and thus creates the pre-requisite for a true world-wide federation of all toiling peoples. The Executive draw the attention of the working class throughout the world at the intrigues that at Washington are being spun against Soviet Russia. They call upon the toiling masses in China, Korea and Eastern Siberia to ally themselves more closely to Soviet Russia the only state in the world willing to render assistance upon a mutual and fraternal basis to the peoples of the Near and Far East who are being menaced by the world's imperialists.

Moscow, August 15 th, 1921.

The Executive Committee of The Communist International.

A Butcher State.

A year before the constitution of the Communist International took place in Moscow, its foundation was laid in the midst of revolutionary struggle. It happened in Finland, in the spring of 1918. On the snow-covered battle fields in the class-war of Finland, international forces fought on both sides. On the red front fought the battalions of the Russian workers, the red guards of the Finnish proletariat, the battalions of the Lettish comrades. On the white front the troops of German imperialism, the bands of the Finnish middle-class, the voluntary battalion of Swedish political agitators, counter-revolutionary officers etc.

By this war which lasted three mouths the international idea took strong hold of the proletariat as well as of the middle-class of Finland.

The necessary condition for the international education of the proletariat is its deliverance from the spell of democratic illusions. At that time it was profoundly and quickly done in Finland. In the year 1906 there was on paper a very democratic constitution of parliament in Finland. The social-democrat labour party possessed 40—45% of the members of the diet. In 1917 they had the majority already. In that year democratic liberty in Finland was so great that the working class could quite publicly form and arm their red guards.

The democratic illusions strengthened in this way were, however, destroyed in a few weeks by the reality of the class struggle: capitalist democracy in its highest form is nothing but a camouflage for the mobilisation of social forces for the class-war.

At the same time the division of the old social-democratic labour-movement into the camps of the Second and the Third International took place in a very concrete form: the adherents of the right wing unmasked themselves as counter-revolutionary saboteurs in the light of the revolutionary masses. After the great massacre of the 1st of May 1918, thousands of members of the Finnish Labour-Party lay shot to death on the ground with their

the triumphant conquerors carried their books of membership of the German Social-democratic Party or of German trade-unions in their pockets.

By its voluntary troops recruited from its class the Finnish bourgeoisie had given an example to European reaction. Already in 1905 they were called butchers in Finland. Now the dictatorship of the butchers had temporarily gained a perfect victory. In a blood-thirsty manner they made use of all possibilities of the White Terror and of systematic inquisition. But the result was a great disappointment for them -- the ranks of the revolutionary clearheaded masses of workmen are now much stronger and more resolute than ever in Finland and are on the way to final victory.

The national illusions of the Finnish middle-class have likewise been destroyed. The independence of Finland really existed only during the few weeks of the end of the year 1917, when Bolshevik Soviet Russia had made a present of this independence to the Finnish bourgeoisie and when it had not yet been delivered by them as booty to German imperialism. During the German domination in 1918 Finland was impudently pillaged of victuals and valuables. After the German defeat the Finnish Butcher state has still kept up secret connections with the German monarchist league, but has more and more been vanquished by the mighty British imperialism. Now its force of passive defence against the English imperialism is totally broken.

Under these circumstances its situation has become by no means easier. The little butcher-state is strangled by its own independence. It has no market for its products. The production of worthless paper money is the only branch of industry, that is not wanting in White Finland. The tremendous unproductive costs for the military equipments of troops, the speculation of banks and importers, and the robberies that are systematically committed on the State by the "independent" bureaucracy have exhausted the economic force of the country. Next autumn or winter threatens the Finnish butchereign with an economic catastrophe. In order to save herself Finland cries for help in all directions for a foreign "economic dictator" for any Stinnes with unlimited powers.

The Finnish Utopia of national independence has been as unlucky as the Utopia of pure democracy. In the moment, when it seemed to be on the point of perfect realisation, when they knocked already at the gates of their Jericho they were in fact ultimately driven out of all the land of Canaan. The little butcher-state had of course just like other deformities of the same type its imperialist dream too, its fixed idea of a "Great Finland". This fixed idea was also pursued by adventurous expeditions to Estonia, to North Karelia and to Olenetz in South-Karelia. But every time this raving megalomania was shaken into clear-headed consciousness by the rough fist of the Russian Red Army.

By these hard experiences changes have been taking place among the possessing classes of Finland. Part of them are politically exhausted and wish social peace and order at any price. That is to say: secured capitalist profit at any price, no matter where it comes from, even from the Bolsheviks. This part of the bourgeoisie is inclined to help the capitalist production of the country by commerce with Soviet-Russia, but they are being terrorised by the active butchers. The active butchers are looking for rescue in a new secret alliance with the monarchists of all countries of Continental Europe, in new warlike adventures against Soviet-Russia.

By this endeavour they meet half-way the intentions of the French bourgeoisie to organise a holy alliance in Europe in defence of French profit. The new commercial treaty of Finland with France is the outward proof that also the Finnish butchers will henceforward join the French secret alliance as hirelings.

It will soon be evident, how long and how far these black plans of concentration may be carried on, on the European Continent without meeting with the opposition of the British policy of splitting up the Baltic into small "independent" states. But one thing is sure: the revolution of the European proletariat will pronounce the final sentence on the plans of the political intriguers of both parties.

Finland herself is of course only a very small phenomenon and a passing spectacle. But it is evident, that her fate is in some respects typical of the present process of the European class-war. The factor, which plays the dominant role in the class-war in Finland: is the organisation of the communists for the proletarian revolution against the organisation of the butchers.

Moscow, August 25th 1921.

O. W. Kunsinen.

ECONOMICS

The World-wide Economic Crisis of the Capitalist System.

Everywhere the capitalist world is tottering. After the ending of the war, matters apparently had improved. With this improvement the profits of the capitalists increased but not production and meanwhile a crisis set in during the Spring of 1920. This crisis has now lasted for a year and a half, always intensifying and widening, and the end is not yet within sight. Any temporary improvement of a few week's duration is as a matter of course followed up by further downward moves.

The causes of the world crisis are known. The great iron-works in America are working at only 25 percent of their capacity. The owners of the copper mines have reached an agreement providing for a restriction of the output. The cotton area has this year been reduced by 27 per cent, and planters will be compelled to keep up this reduction for the next five years. Half of the 10 millions of new tonnage built by America during the war is lying idle. The same picture is repeated by other countries, no matter if during or after the War they were victorious, defeated or neutral. In Belgium, the crisis is intensifying from day to day, coal-pits are closed down while of 55 furnaces only 12 are in full blast. If we pass to Bohemia, we are face to face with a complete idleness of the iron and steel producing industries; the last furnace in Cladno, the great centre of iron industry, was shut down in July. This condition is general, in England and Italy, and in Japan and South-America as well. It is indeed a world crisis in the true sense of the word. Since the inception of capitalism, crises have taken place from time to time. *The present crisis, however, is not a crisis within capitalism, but a crisis of capitalist world economy; of the capitalist system of society itself.*

Previous to the War capitalist world economy represented a unit which was at that time kept together by world trade and by the gold standard adopted in all capitalist countries, whereby national currency was accepted internationally. This capitalist economy has now fallen to pieces and is about to die. The English pound sterling is worth three quarters of its gold value, while the German mark is worth only three pence today of its pre-war value. Austrian crowns and Polish marks have become mere scraps of paper. Central and Eastern Europe are generating deadly germs for capitalism.

The present crisis is not one of overproduction in the ordinary accepted sense. Who will maintain that in Germany, Austria and Poland, these impoverished countries, completely ruined by the war, where from month to month the governments do not know if there is sufficient bread on hand to feed the people, we have a case of overproduction? The character of the present crisis is one of overproduction in one part of the world, an overproduction unknown heretofore, and underproduction in the other part of the world -- The reaction of these factors upon one another results in the present crisis of capitalism itself.

At the command of the capitalists, the people of Europe murdered each other with all the means of modern technique. Every possible resource to carry on the war was utilised: riches which it took generations to produce, the soil, livestock, buildings and factories, machinery and locomotives, everything was greatly exhausted or annihilated by the war itself. One after the other, the states perished. First of all came the weakest, Russia, then followed Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary and, finally, Germany. The destruction of the war was not less in Belgium, France and Italy, but the support of America and England enabled these countries somehow or other to hold out till the end of the War.

The non-European States developed altogether differently. Europe, up till the beginning of the War the chief supplier of commodities for the whole world, could not only not keep up the supply, but needed all kinds of goods from the other parts of the world as well. This need everywhere resulted in a gigantic increase of plants and production. The great orders given by the allied countries caused especially in the United States and Japan a hot house development. The remaining overseas countries with a white population-Australasia, South-Africa and South-America took advantage of the temporary cessation of European competition to further their own industries.

The increase of shipping rates for a time enabled these youthful industries to compete on the local markets with the American and Japanese industries. While Europe was going towards her doom and her productivity dwindling, the non-European capitalist countries were developing gigantic new forces.

Two parts of the world are facing each other: the impoverished half (Russia, Germany, Poland, the countries of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy with a total population of 300 millions), and the over-rich countries, which accumulated immense riches during the War; amongst these latter are especially to be mentioned not only the United States and Japan, but also the English Colonies.

The impoverished countries are suffering from a crisis of under-production, the enriched countries from one of over-production. The impoverished countries are in need of everything of which the second category is possessed in abundance. But the poor cannot buy of the rich, for they have nothing to give in return, their gold and securities and their treasures of art, even their artists and scientists being in America. For the same reasons the rich cannot sell. The poor cannot get credits, because they are poor and nobody will trust them with anything. Thus, the two parts of the world are facing each other in insoluble contradiction, and as in the case of all the other evils of capitalism, the burden of this state of affairs falls upon the shoulders of the workers. In the rich part of the world, there are millions out of work. Alone in the United States there are (according to statistical figures of the Labour Bureau published by the "Economist" of Chicago on 30th of July) between four and a half and five million unemployed. They go hungry, because the country is too rich. In Germany, Austria and Poland there is very little unemployment. *Here the workers have to go hungry, in spite of the fact that they work, because the countries are impoverished.* During the present world catastrophe the sufferings of the workers are even greater than they would be if the capitalist system was running smoothly.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

England:

To the Workers of Great Britain.

Fellow Workers:

The Trade Union Congress met at Cardiff on the 5th of September. Never before had a labour gathering been confronted with so grave and serious a situation as today. The working-class of Great Britain is in a position bordering on despair. Divided into a multitude of unions, federations, loose alliances, committees, councils, parties, and devoid of unified and militant leadership, the British labour movement of today is a vast confusion and chaos. Eight million organised workers, a mighty army indeed, cannot point out a single victory won by labour in recent years. The history of the labour movement, especially since the outbreak of the war and after the armistice, has been a record of blunders and defeats. Separate groups of workers, unaided and unsupported by the rest of the working-class, have time and again, put up the most stubborn and the most heroic fights, but the working-class as a whole has repeatedly suffered itself to be tricked and fooled by the bourgeoisie and labour politicians, has meekly and obediently accepted broken promises and downright betrayals, has submitted to threats and intimidations.

And what is the result? Millions of unemployed, hundreds of thousands of workers on short-time, a general insecurity of work, a continuous decline and fall in the standard of living. Instead of the promised millenium; instead of a "place fit for heroes to live in", the life of the worker has become a hunt for a living wage. Verily it may be said, it takes a hero to withstand all the misery and privation brought upon us by capitalism. Nor does this wave of unemployment show the least sign of abatement. Every day it engulfs new thousands of workers, throwing them out on the streets to swell the ranks of the already unemployed millions. Thus the general mass of misery and privation is continually intensified. On the other hand the spectre of unemployment is haunting those still in jobs and they do not know what to-morrow will bring, while among those in employment, hundreds of thousands are working only part-time, — simply hanging on to their jobs by the skin of their teeth.

The capitalist system, which is responsible for the present crisis and all its attendant evils of unemployment, misery, and privations, is unable to extricate itself from the economic chaos of its own creation. It is not only unable to solve the unemployment problem, but to insure its own continued existence, it is compelled to degrade the working class and reduce it still further to servitude. The universal economic chaos, to which imperialist capitalism has brought the world, threatens profits, and the bourgeoisie wishes to recoup itself at the expense of the meagre wages of the workers. Thus, the present

ferocious attack on the standard of living of the proletariat. *To maintain the profits of capitalist, the workers must starve.*

Today, after so many years of struggle, the British proletariat finds itself in constant dread of losing that little which is doled out to it in the form of wages by the employing class. The British working class, the largest and the strongest of all, the source and foundation of all the wealth and prosperity that the country possesses today lies prostrate and helpless, a prey to the capitalist exploiters and an object of intimidation by a capitalist class government. How is that the British proletariat suffers itself to be thus cowed and beaten into submission without putting up a united and determined fight to a finish?

This is the foremost question which the workers must raise before the Trade Union Congress and give a satisfactory answer. We on our part have this to say: The workers of Great Britain are organised in it by unions but not organised as a class. *They possess no class organisation capable of leading the whole of the working class to victory.* The trade unions form federations and alliances, or belong to the Trade Union Congress or Labour Party, but in spite of this multitude of organisations, the proletariat is not organised as a class. The bourgeoisie looks to the Federation of British Industries for aid and action. When in need, it has Parliament to fall back upon and a National Government is always at its disposal. The bourgeoisie is indeed organised as a class, but the workers alone are split and torn asunder into a multitude of petty unions, federations, alliances with high-sounding and imposing names, but none of them representing the working class as a whole and with neither authority nor power to act. To those who are accustomed to talk in terms of the Labour Movement, it will sound paradoxical that there is no Labour Movement in Great Britain. There are movements of labour, of miners, of railwaymen, of dockers, engineers and so on, but there is no concerted movement of the whole of the working class. Separate groups of the British proletariat have in the past engaged in some splendid skirmishes. They have scored notable victories on isolated fronts, but never have they yet reached the whole strength of labour in a general battle with the bourgeoisie. Labour as a whole has never as yet presented an organised, united front against Capital. That's why it has been beaten and crushed time and again, so badly. It is high time for Labour to recognize the painful truth that it is divided against itself, no matter how much it may profess class solidarity, and in spite of its deep conviction that "an injury to one is an injury to all". Class-solidarity, to be effective, must find its expression through class organisation and so long as labour remains dissimised, it will be beaten.

The capitalist class and the Government know well that so long as they can keep labour in the present state of disorganisation and chaos, their rule is unassailable and unshakeable. As to the revolt of separate groups of labour, as in the case of the miners, there is nothing much for the bourgeoisie to fear. These can be crushed with comparative ease, and what is more, crushed by the aid of other groups of the working class which, while the struggle goes on, supply the enemy with the sinews of war to be used against their fellow workers. For, and let us not deceive ourselves on that score, when a million miners are engaged in a deadly grip with the employers, and the rest of the workers stand at their benches drive engines and load cars, they help the enemy to beat the miners. There is no getting away from this truth by hiding behind the beautiful phrases of class solidarity and "an injury to one is an injury to all". Throughout the year of 1919, there was plenty of talk of class solidarity, yet the railwaymen and the miners were beaten. So was it in 1920. And on top of it all comes the great debacle at the beginning of the present year, when even J. H. Thomas hardly delivered a speech or made a statement without repeatedly using the phrase of class solidarity. But what was the result? *Black Friday!* "Class solidarity" must cease to be a phrase used only in newspapers, books and on the platform. It must cease to be a cloak donned on special occasions and for brightly-lighted lecture halls. And above all, the workers must not permit it to be used as an instrument whereby traitors may pull the wool over the eyes of Labour. Class solidarity must become a living reality, and this can be achieved only by the creation of a class organization, beginning with the United Works Committees and culminating in the General Staff of Labour.

The Trade Union Congress.

The Trade Union Congress, loose and involuntary as it has been till now, is not the organization capable of leading the working class to victory over the bourgeoisie, or even to defend the workers from capitalist aggression. The annual meetings of the Trade Union Congress only...

additional platform to a few labour leaders to give vent to their eloquence before a labour audience. Its practical work results in a multitude of resolutions and recommendations and that is all.

The leaders of the Trade Union Congress readily turned into diplomats of the working class and concluded peace with the bourgeoisie and the Government by voluntarily assigning to them the rights of labour on empty promises for the future, but did nothing to compel the Government and the bourgeoisie to fulfill them. When the industries and the soldiers were demobilised, and hundreds of thousands of men and women were thrown out of work to become a public charge; when every promise made to the workers during the war was broken soon after, what did the Trade Union Congress do to show to the capitalists and the Government that Labour cannot and will not be trifled with? It did nothing, except silently witness the dignity of Labour being gradually degraded and dragged into the mire. Was the Trade Union Congress of any assistance to the workers in 1919? Did it bring active pressure of the whole working class to bear upon the Government to yield to the railwaymen? No, it did not. Did the Trade Union Congress help the miners to secure nationalisation at a time when the position of Labour was most favourable? No, it did not. Its threat of direct action remained on paper, notwithstanding the fact that over four million workers voted for direct action. Was the Trade Union Congress of any practical use in the Labour disputes of 1920? No, it was not. When the bravest of British Labour, the miners, were so hard pressed by the combined strength of the bourgeoisie, Parliament and the Government, and sorely in need of the combined strength of the working class, where was the Trade Union Congress then? As usual, it was hibernating, only to awaken in Cardiff on September 5th to talk for a few days and again to fall into its winter's sleep until the next Congress.

To-day, when Labour is being ferociously attacked by the combined force of the capitalist class, aided by the Government; when millions of unemployed or partly employed roam the streets and the countryside in search of a livelihood, when the whole working class more than ever before stands in need of concerted and determined leadership, what is the Trade Union Congress doing? Nothing. Is it not then correct, fellow workers, to say that Labour has not found in the Trade Union Congress the class organization it needs, and is it not high time that every worker realises this before the capitalist class has got you securely by the throat.

The Triple Alliance.

The Triple Alliance has come in for a great deal of criticism especially since its failure to act on behalf of the miners. Far be it from us to hasten to defend the Triple Alliance from the wrath and indignation of the workers. It has not got what it deserved, the contempt of the masses. The secret negotiations which its leaders carried on with the enemy behind the backs of the workers; their constant wire-pulling, their endeavors to hold the ring while the Government made every preparation to crush the labour movement; their fears to bring into action large masses of workers, all their deeds, or rather misdeeds, will be inscribed upon the blackest page of the history of the class struggle. But criticism and indignation alone are not enough to build up the labour movement. The bitter lessons which the treacherous leaders have taught you must not be wasted for nothing, such lessons must not be consumed in the momentary flames of your indignation on the morrow of your betrayal, and the same bitter experiences gone through again.

What did that Triple Alliance teach us on the 15th of April? Not that there is no class solidarity of British labour, but that a combination of leaders *only*, especially leaders of the type of Thomas, is not a close union of the rank and file, is not a class organisation centralised and efficient, to take the field at short notice and thus beat back the enemy decisively and irrevocably. When the Transport Workers and the Railwaymen failed to act side by side with the Miners, was it due to the lack of class solidarity on their part, or because they lacked the feeling and conviction that an injury to one is an injury to all? No, fellow workers, it was due to the fact that the three bodies of labour were never properly united. The Miners, the Transport Workers, the Railwaymen had not created a common organisation. A real alliance of labour does not mean a combination of J. H. Thomas, Gosling, Hodges, etc. etc. The three great labour bodies had never had common conferences called directly from the rank and file; had never discussed in

organized all along the line for concerted and efficient action. If the Miners, the Railwaymen and Transport Workers had been closely united and organized all along the front, locally and nationally, would it have been possible for the leaders such as Thomas & Co. to tear this gigantic body of labour asunder at the most critical moment when one of its members was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the common enemy? Most certainly not. If, from the first to the fifteenth of April there had sat in Unity House on Russell Square an authoritative conference elected by the rank and file of the three Federations, supervising the work of a common executive, with the executives of the several federations involved subservient to it, and if similar conferences had sat throughout the length and breadth of the country, would so shameful a breach of class solidarity ever have taken place? Those who claim that it would have made no difference, are maliciously slandering the workers of Britain.

And so, fellow workers, the Trade Union Congress and the Triple Alliance in the form in which they existed heretofore and under their present leadership, have not and could not have been the class organisation which Labour stood so much in need of in the past, and now needs more than ever before. The Trade Union Congress, to become an organisation capable of leading the working class in its struggle against Capitalism, must be reorganized. It must be not only a Trade Union Congress, but chiefly a Labour Congress. It must derive its authority directly from the rank and file and so possess the power to elect the General Staff of Labour, to manoeuvre for position against the bourgeoisie and the government, to move the army of Labour whenever and wherever necessary.

The present position of the British Labour is such that we are quite justified in pointing out to every worker the immediate need for a centralised, efficient and militant class organisation. In fact the workers themselves realised that the present state of affairs in the labour movement is intolerable, and that drastic changes are needed immediately to avoid further and more crushing defeat.

Lately the leaders themselves have begun to talk of the need for a General Staff of Labour. It only shows that they have become aware of the very strong current that is running through the masses of the workers in favour of the unification of the Labour movement. They fear the outbreak of the storm against them and they hasten to avert the danger by diverting the current into quiet channels of opportunism and make-believe. When the leaders talk of a General Staff they merely wish to create the illusion in the masses that something new has been suggested by them to cope with the desperate position of Labour. In reality, they will not go further than a new alliance of old leaders, who have already shown how incapable they are of really leading the workers against the Bastilles of Capitalism. They will leave the old sectionalism of labour intact and this means the same old chaos and confusion hidden under a new and high sounding name of the General Staff of Labour.

We must never for a moment forget that the leaders, such as Thomas and his like, do not want a real union of Labour, for that means that the large masses of the workers will be involved into a direct struggle with the Capitalist class. This is precisely what the leaders do not want. Did not Thomas state during the lockout of the miners that nobody could foretell the consequences of a combined strike of the Triple Alliance and other bodies of Labour, and did he not say that whichever side would win, the nation would lose? That means that even if the workers won, the Nation would lose? And so Thomas is against common action by the workers because the Nation, that is to say the capitalist class, would lose.

The leaders of the petty unions too will be against the close union of the working class, against the General Staff of Labour, for this would mean that they would have to recognise an authority greater than themselves, that they would have to part with some of their prerogatives, of which they are so jealous. They hang on to their petty authority with all their might and main, even though the interest of the working class as a whole demands that they become subservient to a higher authority, to the sovereign will of the working class.

Both the petty leaders and the leaders of national fame, those who represent labour in the bourgeoisie newspapers in the Trade Union Congress and in Parliament, those who are hailed as the leaders of the future Labour Government will

an organisation would destroy their power of aiding the bourgeoisie and the Government to play off one group of workers against the other; it would eliminate that chaos in the Labour movement which heretofore afforded to them the very excellent opportunity of keeping Labour under their domination, and thus preventing every attempt on the part of the workers to revolt against the capitalist system. Their object is, as Thomas has more than once declared, to "keep the ring" in the big battles of Labour and Capital. Their object can be best attained by holding the working class disunited, disorganised and decentralised.

To insure ourselves against the tricks and machinations of the leaders who will make every attempt to **reduce** the whole question of the unification of the Labour Movement to a mere change in the names of the old organization (for instance, instead of the Parliamentary Committee and a General Council), leaving everything else as it existed heretofore, the workers must take the work of unification into their own hands and see to it that first of all the shops and the works are united, along the lines of industry. The Workers' Committee is the foundation of working class unity. The Workers' Committee and the Trade Unions must form the Local Trades and Labour Councils with authority to act as the General Staff of Labour for the given locality. Finally, the Trades and Labour Congress must be representatives of the whole of the working class and responsible only to the working class. Unity in the factory, in the pit, and so on, unity on the point of production, unity in the locality, Working class unity in the whole country. It unites all the workers at the point of production irrespective of grade, craft, color or sex.

The creation of directing staffs in the English Labour movement is only one part of the problem. What will the Executive Organs, invested with authority, do? Will they like the *general staffs of the Trade Union movement in other countries* look for salvation in collaboration with the bourgeoisie or will they carry on a revolutionary struggle against it? Will the new staff spend the revolutionary energy of the working class in bartering, or will it, clearly understanding the contradictions which tear apart the existing capitalist society, struggle with all its organised power for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the power of the toilers? Here are the questions that are of the utmost interest to every proletarian, to every worker of Great Britain. You have witnessed the great struggles and social conflicts of the last years. The workers were being vanquished not only because they were poorly organised but also because they were striving for sectional aims. The bourgeoisie had triumphed over you not only because it is better organized than you, but also because it understands its class interests better than the working class. It never pursues merely economic problems. It always regards its problems as class problems and all its activities are permeated with the spirit of its class. Being numerically weaker than the working class it succeeds by the strength of its organisation and class consciousness.

It the General Staff of the English Labour movement will be permeated with the spirit of hatred against the dominating class, if each little conflict, each skirmish, will serve for the education of the masses, for the single aim of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie domination your staff will be worthy of the confidence of the English Labour movement, and will be worthy of its great mission. The victory in the social struggle belongs to the class which is not only better organized, but which is more conscious, to the class which can marshal all the might of its organisation and all its experience for the accomplishment of its class task.

Fellow workers, Forward to unity, to class solidarity and discipline, to the creation of a single revolutionary and anti-capitalist front.

Forward to victory over the bourgeoisie and the whole capitalist system!

The Small Bureau of the Executive of the Communist International:

The President: S. Zinovieff. Bucharin, Radek, Russia. Souvarine, France. Heckert, Germany. Gennari, Italy. Bela Kun, Hungary.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions:

General Secretary: A. Losovsky. Nogine, Russia. Tom Mann, England. Meyer, Germany. Orlanois, Spain. Andreychin, America.

Germany:

The Congress of the German Metal Workers Union.

(The greatest Trade-Union in the World.)

By J. Walcher (Berlin).

The 15th general congress of the German Metal Workers Union was held in Jena from the 12th to 18th of September. 780 delegates, representing 1.6 million members participated in the congress. This gigantic number alone shows the outstanding importance of this greatest Trade-Union in the world, a fact which was proudly and repeatedly emphasised by the delegates at Jena.

The regular general conferences of the G. M. W. U. are held every two years. At the conference two years ago, which was held in Stuttgart, the opposition had a decided majority, though lack of unity, insight and consistency rendered it incapable of attaining victory. A new executive was then elected but apart from that, everything remained as before. Taking all in all, the new "radical" executive treated the problems of the day after the manner of the old executive. This resulted in an ever growing discontent. The new executive, in order to protect itself against the attacks of the opposition, sought for and obtained, under the leadership of Dissmann, a rapprochement with the Majority Socialists. Dissmann was one of the loudest shouters for Amsterdam in the contest for the latter or Moscow. He was one of the leading trade-unionists in the battle against the Communists. The Majority Socialists though they had reason to be satisfied with the activities of the new executive, remained coolly aloof, bearing in mind the defeat they had suffered at Stuttgart. The Communists were unitedly in the opposition.

The basis of the Executive which was to a large extent composed of Independents had little by little become very small. The Majority Socialists were industriously labouring at strengthening and widening their influence, a policy which had also been adopted by the Communists. The election to the District Administration of Berlin, held in December 1920, showed that the Communists influence had rapidly gained ground, the Communists receiving 36,000 of a total of 61,000 votes. The effects of the March action which in many places resulted in the dismissal of Communists from the shops, have for a time weakened our influence in the G. M. W. U. Our influence was still strong enough, however, to fill the Executive, located in Stuttgart, with misgivings.

For time the foremost care of the Executive was the question how they could manage to secure the appointment to the conference of delegates, who would be favourable for them. Three groups were endeavouring to win for themselves the favour of the electors. The election regulations, decided upon by the executive then in power, should have taken account of this fact and allowed every group to nominate its own candidates. At this juncture however, the shrewdness of the Executive became apparent. They decided that only a majority and a minority list would be permitted. The result of this was that the Independents, being the middle group, reaped the benefit sometimes of the left and sometimes of the right minority. These election tricks have been especially harmful to the Communists. This can be exemplified by the fact that we polled 65,733 votes against the 124,530 votes of the Majority Socialists and Independents in the elections for delegates in the six districts *Hagen, Essen, (Rhineland-Westphalia), Hamburg, Koenigsberg, Berlin and Stuttgart*. The 124,530 votes of the united followers of Amsterdam elected 293 delegates while the Communists with their 65,733 votes had to be satisfied with 48 delegates, or, in other words, 25 votes were necessary for one Amsterdam delegate while 1369 votes were needed for a Communists delegate.

The 114 Communists delegates who were elected in spite of these manoeuvres and who formed a Communists fraction in Jena did not in the least express the extent of the confidence enjoyed by the Communists among the membership of the G. M. W. U. The faction of the Majority Socialists which numbered 420 members had a decided majority.

The Communists fraction, though it was numerically not in position to effectively influence the decisions of the session, has nevertheless had a far greater influence upon the progress of the deliberations than most of the participants suspected. In a speech lasting four hours, Dissmann reported on the activities of the Executive. The speaker carefully avoided a discussion on the problems of the class struggle and instead attacked the Communists whenever deficiencies or the insufficiency of trade

unionist tactics became too apparent. A resolution moved by the Communists, which provided that a discussion of the economic situation and the resulting trade-unionist tactics be put on the agenda was rejected by the majority. In the discussion following Dissmann's speech, the Communists then endeavoured to make the metal workers see the necessity for a change in trade-unionist tactics, because of the complete change of the economic basis resulting from the War and its effects. The Executive as well as the Majority Socialists and Independent fractions stubbornly avoided this problem. In this, the decisive point, the general congress has therefore proved a complete failure. All that resulted was an ambiguous resolution, the wording of which finds an explanation in the endeavour to make it acceptable to both the Majority Socialists and Independents. The attempt succeeded. Dissmann tried his best to gain the favour of the Majority Socialists. In their servility towards the Majority Socialists the Independents did not stop at sacrificing their principles; they even helped to defeat the Communists' resolution against a participation of the G. M. W. U. in the collaboration of employers and employees. Previously to the general conference Dissmann had maintained in the metal workers' organ that in trade-union policy there was hardly anything dividing the Independents from the Majority Socialists. If the Independent fraction at Jena wished to prove that Dissmann was correct in that respect, we must readily admit that it has indeed succeeded in doing so.

In spite of this formal agreement which was easily noticeable from the very beginning, the open conflict between Majority Socialists and Independents was only avoided by means of sustained efforts behind the scenes. The mere presence of Communists compelled the quarreling brothers to reach an understanding. In order to lessen the influence of the Communists in the Executive, a change in the statutes was necessary which, however, could only be effected by a two thirds majority. This made it necessary for the Majority Socialists and Independent to vote together in order to effect the change in the statutes. In return the Independent members of the Executive were to be allowed to remain at their posts. The agreement was duly concluded and thus the Executive is henceforth composed of 11 salaried members of whom 5 are Independents and the others Majority Socialists.

This however was not the only price the Communists had to pay for the agreement of Majority Socialists and Independents. At first the Majority Socialists had been disinclined to sanction the old Executive's activities in expelling Communists. The second speaker put forward by their fraction declared that they would consider every case on its own merits and then decide accordingly. The Independents, however, stubbornly insisted upon a paragraph being accepted in the common resolution expressly approving of the measures directed against the Communists. This the Independents finally succeeded in carrying through, thereby deciding the fate of the expelled Communists.

The formalities gone through afterwards by the Commission for the redress of grievances were nothing but badly masked comedy, which will tend to rouse the resentment of the opposition all the more, because it was generally expected that the exclusions would be cancelled, because of the agreement concluded shortly before at Halle. The gentlemen who labour under the delusion that by keeping out of the G. M. W. U. prominent Communists representatives they can damage the Communists cause, will very soon wake up to the fact that the opposite will take place.

The Communists fraction had hardly any influence in the decisions over the 750 motions put before the congress. Only in one case did the initiative of the Communists succeed in having a motion carried contrary to the wishes of the Executive. In accordance with the decisions adopted at the London Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and those adopted by the International Congress of Metal Workers held in Luzern, a motion was moved, empowering the Executive to prevent the manufacture of munitions. The representative of the Executive remarked on this point that through the motion deserved high praise, it would be quite sufficient to allow the Executive to act in this respect on its own discretion. A Communists representative opposed this settlement and demanded that on this occasion it should be proved that the decisions of Amsterdam were worth more than the paper they were printed on. The majority thought it necessary to prove this and accordingly seconded the motion. The rest of the motions had to be hurried through because the first two days had absolutely been wasted. On the first day foreign representations amongst whom were Merrheim-France and Kruppa-Hungary misused the hospitality and basely attacked the Communists and the Third International. This was an easy matter for these gentlemen, the more so, because the

Executive had not thought it necessary to invite representatives of the Russian Metal Workers Union.

One word more on the outward proceedings of the congress. It has been as far as we know the first congress where all the participants were organised in three rigidly disciplined fractions. Every fraction took a stand on the various problems and appointed speakers who were granted the floor alternately according to the numerical strength of their fraction. An unprejudiced spectator must agree that this arrangement had a very benevolent influence upon the deliberations of the congress. A number of small matters which otherwise would have occupied the time of the congress were thus settled within the fraction. These debates within the fractions furthermore did much towards bringing about a certain clearness and understanding, which greatly facilitated a business-like exchange of opinion. Another advantage of the forming of fractions is that the alternation of speakers tended to keep the interest in the proceedings awake till the end. In his concluding speech, the chairman justly maintained that a congress attended by nearly 1000 delegates had heretofore only very seldom practised such a discipline and endurance. Though the daily sessions at times lasted ten hours and more, the delegates remained in their places and attentively listened to the proceedings. After this first great test it can safely be said that the forming of fractions is certain to improve the Trade-Union Movement as a whole.

The progress of the congress justifies the Communists' fraction in expecting much in the future; it did not entertain any illusion whatsoever, which cannot be said of the Independent opposition of two years ago. The fraction was characterised by an imposing unity; it knew its aim and is certain to reach it. The German proletariat whose situation is steadily growing worse is approaching heavy struggles. Prices of foodstuffs are increasing on one hand, while on the other the value of the money is decreasing rapidly. The Government is making preparations for a gigantic pillaging expedition in the form of taxes. The employers once more believe themselves to be masters of the situation.

A continued gigantic concentration of capital is taking place. The gigantic formations of capitalism already in existence and still growing up cannot under the present circumstances be combatted with the old tactics of the Trade-Unions. The metal workers will be the first to feel this and will clearly comprehend the correctness of the Communist point of view and then rally round the Communist flags.

We will again see each other at the next congress if we do not meet before that.

Three Weeks of the Way of the German Majority Socialists.

By A. Thalheimer.

The news-papers of the German bourgeoisie are joyfully welcoming the decision of the annual party convention of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, recently held at Görlitz, which opens the way for a coalition from Stinnes to Scheidemann.

The bourgeoisie has indeed won a great battle within three weeks. The revolvershots at Griesbach which killed Erzberger formed the prelude, Görlitz constitutes the end — for the time being.

A sense of dismay and shame is gathering headway among the workers not excepting the followers of the Social Democratic Party, who feel they have been tricked.

That feeling can be easily understood, for it is fully justified. Immense masses get ready for an attack and — find themselves in the arms of Stinnes and Stresenmann, the representatives of capitalism. To begin with a "united proletarian phalanx" and to end with co-operation with the party of the large industrial concerns and the bank capital — that is indeed a record which is not equalled every day.

The workers must now clearly comprehend why matters have progressed that far and where they stand at the present moment.

Both these questions can readily be answered if the mist of phrases is swept aside with which the petty and great bourgeois parties have shrewdly beclouded the issue, and if what has occurred during the three weeks is called by its proper name, a clash between the great classes sheltering behind the various party names.

The centre of the battlefield was held by the great bourgeoisie, the large industrial concerns and bank capital, which is represented by the German People's Party. On its right we find the landed interests, officers, reactionary government officials, the Tories in short all of whom are politically represented by the German Nationalist Party. Then comes the hero of the battle, the petty bourgeoisie, represented by the Democratic Party, the Party of the Centre and the Majority Socialists, officials of the federal government and a number of state governments. Finally we see the working class the majority of which is still being led by the petty bourgeois parties.

The defeat of the working class absolutely coincides with the defeat suffered by its political pilot, the petty bourgeoisie.

We shall recapitulate the various phases of the struggle. First phase. The great bourgeoisie believed itself menaced by the growing discontent of the petty bourgeoisie and workers, who are rebelling against the continuous decline of their standard of life. Disagreeable taxes on property are looming in the background; the petty bourgeois in power talk about imposing levies on real estate. Hence the petty bourgeoisie must be intimidated and a fist be held under their eyes. The intimidation was performed by the shots fired at Erzberger, while the fist held under their eyes of the government was represented by the great bourgeoisie's sabotage of the instalment on the reparation payments due to the Allies.

Everybody knows that the monarchist gangs are in the pay of the great industrial concerns and the bank capital, that Ludendorff and his kindred are but so many puppets at the mercy of their wirepuller, the great bourgeoisie.

Second phase. Petty bourgeois democracy is valiantly preparing for battle. The S. D. P. gives out the watchwords: "Don't stop at half measures, second revolution, protect the republic, chase the monarchists in the background!" Millions of workers respond to the battle cry; "down with the reaction". And now, under the eyes of the threatening masses comes the dramatical turning point.

The petty bourgeoisie gets scared of the proletariat and retreats valiantly. Great as its fear is of the monarchist counter-revolution, it has even greater fear of a proletarian revolution. The murderous dagger of the monarchists is anything but pleasant; it is nothing, however, compared to the steady tramp of the masses drawing up for battle.

This state of mind of the petty bourgeoisie is reflected in the "moderated state of siege" secured by its government in Bavaria, by means of which the monarchists are being played with, but which will if the need for it arises become a sharp weapon against the proletariat.

The great bourgeoisie understood the situation at one glance. The Peoples Party, which is to-day as always the source of money for the monarchists watchdogs of its safes, all of a sudden declared itself in favour of the republic. The phalanx of the proletariat has terrified the petty bourgeoisie. So why not come to an understanding? All that is necessary is the lowering of the Hohenzollern flag and the hoisting of the republican flag instead. Under the flag of the republic the great bourgeoisie solemnly bows down to the petty bourgeoisie, which trembles at the sight of the red flag.

Third phase. Offer by great bourgeoisie to lend money for the reparation payment due. Thus two flies are killed with one stone. Taxes are warded off their safes and the petty bourgeois government is formally bought.

Fourth phase. The scene is laid in Görlitz where the petty bourgeoisie falls, tears in one eye, joy in the other, into the outstretched arms of the great bourgeoisie. The latter, however, is nothing if not thorough. Its hirelings in Bavaria and elsewhere are continuing preparations at top speed, for one never knows what might happen some day. At the present time petty bourgeois democracy is protecting the safes draped with republican colours more effectively than would the rifles of the Hohenzollern vassals. But who can tell for how long?

The workers though they have been tricked, have not been defeated.

Petty bourgeois democracy has gone on the rocks. Görlitz represents the beginning of the end.

The Majority Socialists declared that a coalition with the great bourgeoisie was the last means whereby civil war could be avoided. Subjugation under the great bourgeoisie is indeed a sure remedy against civil war.

But there is a joker in the deck, the workers; they cannot submit to the great bourgeoisie, even though petty bourgeois

THE COMMUNIST YOUTH

The Compulsory Labour Service Bill.

A dream of waning capitalism.

Profit is the only aim and object of the capitalist class. Everything it undertakes, it does to with this object in view. Whether it builds universities or endows hospitals or acquires colonies — the needle of its compass always points to Profits.

If the attaining of its aim is made difficult or impeded by events of an economic or political nature, the capitalist class, provided of course it is too weak to do away with the obstacles by its peculiar methods — war etc., etc. — infallibly will have recourse to trickery. In such an emergency, the state apparatus dominated by the capitalist class is made its willing tool. What the single capitalist is incapable of accomplishing, due to the force of circumstances, is to be attained by legislative measures.

An instance of this kind is furnished by the compulsory labour service bill, the spectre of which is once more haunting Germany and which now is in force in Bulgaria. This bill is intended to help the capitalists regain within its own country part of the gigantic profits lost by the separation from the world's markets.

The idea of compulsory labour service is not new. It has a precedent actually in practice in the auxiliary service bill passed in Germany during the War, with the glorious assistance of the Trade-Unions and the Social-Democrats. German capitalism, surrounded by enemies and possessed of the stubbornness which is a characteristic of every capitalist class, wishing in any case to make sure of its profits by dominating the world's markets, possible only by the defeat of its enemies, but also eager to increase profits in its own country before that time had arrived, conceived the audacious plan for a complete exploitation of the working class. Freedom of movement for the proletarian class was abolished. Protective measures for the youth were temporarily set aside. The proletarian children, the proletarian sick, the proletarian women and old men were compelled to work in "important war industries" or, in other words, in factories yielding great profits to their owners. A similar policy was adopted in Bulgaria.

It is of interest, then, to observe how German capitalism, after its dreams of world domination have so cruelly been shattered and the danger of revolution threatening at the end of the War has somewhat receded, is again advocating the same old measure, even though in a somewhat altered form. So far, the state has not taken official notice of the plan. The spectre is represented by the wishes of "far-seeing" politicians who, as is well known, are always the spokesmen for the master class. The more the German capitalists become managers of the international bourgeoisie, the sooner they will come to the conclusion that a bill of that description would be quite useful for reaping new profits. It they should come to this conclusion some day, they will not hesitate to induce their instrument, the state, to provide the necessary legislative measures.

This time it is the proletarian youth who are to be the prey of the capitalist exploiters. Nothing less than a compulsory economic service, after the pattern of the compulsory military service of by-gone times, is being planned. In this manner it is intended to get hold of willing slaves who can easily be exploited.

Hundreds of thousands of young workers are out of work, hundreds of thousands are working short time. Amongst these are thousands who, as a result of the misery imposed upon them, are drifting towards ruination. Society is not capable of furnishing work and bread, nevertheless it wants to introduce a law providing for compulsory labour.

What will this ultimately lead to? The answer is quite simple. Wages, as is well known, are too "high". Owners let their factories lie idle, because, in their opinion, they would no longer yield sufficient profits. This state of affairs cannot of course continue indefinitely, because the owners want to earn money, and as much as possible of it. Everything would be well if one could get an army of workers, who would furnish cheap labour and with the help of whom one could quite easily smash the "exorbitant" demands of the workers.

The working class must remember this. What is only a wish to-day, may be a law to-morrow, unless the workers are on guard and nip these blossoms of capitalist desire in the bud. What is only national to-day, may be international to-morrow.

The proletarian youth must wait and watch, because the blow intended for the working class as a whole will be aimed at the young workers who, therefore, must get ready for it in time.

If the entire working youth is united, it can ward off an attack.

with comparative ease. Hence, the young workers must rally to work. The attempt of the capitalists to divide the young workers from the adult workers by compelling the former to join an army of scabs, must be replied to by the young workers forming a united phalanx and, in addition to that, by the forming of an united phalanx with all adult revolutionary workers.

There is only one federation of young workers earnestly and consciously striving for the phalanx of all young workers. This federation unites the young workers and enlists them in the adult workers' army which is waging war against capitalism. This federation is the Young Communist International. Join the Young Communist International and help to form a united front of all young proletarians and thereby a united front of young and adults against capitalism, a front which is to be led by the Communist International.

Do that, and the intention of the capitalists to subject you to unchecked exploitation and to use you as blacklegs against your fathers and mothers will come to nought!

Otto Unger.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Czecho-Slovakia:

The Workers of Czecho-Slovakia for the Red Trade-Union International.

D. Up until now the strength of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia has not been in proportion with its influence in the Trade-Unions. Though a majority of the politically organised workers were organised in the Communist Party, the reactionary Trade-Union bureaucracy held a nearly absolute sway over the Trade-Unions. The influence of the Communists was insignificant, a fact which became apparent on the occasion of the Trade-Union Congress at Moscow where the proletariat of C.S. was only imperfectly represented.

After the Congress the process of capturing the Trade-Unions by the Communists seems to make rapid progress. On the 18th of September a congress of the Moravian Trade-Unions was held at Brunn. Moravia is at present the bulwark of Communism in C.S. a fact which was confirmed by that conference. A resolution moved by the secretary of the Trade-Union headquarters in Prague, was only supported by eight out of 468 delegates present. A resolution demanding that the Trade-Unions immediately leave the Amsterdam International and affiliate with the R. T. U. I. was accepted unanimously. It was also decided to discontinue the system of national division into German and Czechian sections and to reorganise along uniform and international lines. At the conclusion of the conference a national Trade-Union Commission of exclusively Communist members was elected.

OUR PROBLEMS

On the Character of our Press.

In the resolutions on organisational questions adopted by the Third World Congress of the Communist International, a special chapter is devoted to the questions of our Communist papers. In the lines following, the Executive Committee of the C. I. undertakes to supplement the above-mentioned resolution.

The press plays the most important part in our agitation, especially in those countries where our Party owns one or more daily papers. Our organs are, however, still far from satisfactory in spite of that fact. Did we create in Europe or in America a new type of Communist paper? Such a question must be answered in the negative. The majority of our papers are as regards their outward appearance and management closely resembling the old Social-Democratic papers, the only difference being that we labour to represent a different "point of view". This is very little indeed. We must create a new type of Communist organ to which in the main workers contribute, and which grows with the development of the workers' movement.

Let us carefully examine our foremost dailies: L'Humanité, L'International, Ordine Nuovo, Politiken, Rabotnitsheski, Westnik, and even the Rote Fahne — do they contain many letters written by workers? are they truly people's papers in the best sense of the word? does one feel the beat of the pulse of the genuine workers life in any of them?

The resolution on organisational questions adopted by the

comrades, the Pravda as representing the true ideal of a genuine proletarian newspaper as it was edited in the years 1911-13 and during the time between the revolutions in February and October 1917.

What was it that made the paper so powerful in those periods. The main and foremost contributing factor was the fact that not less than half of its columns were open to letters of workers of both sexes in shop and factory. This, then, was a special type of a Communist newspaper. The "Pravda" exercised functions, which no other Russian newspaper succeeded in doing! At least half of the paper differed even in its outward appearance fundamentally from the Social-Democratic and bourgeois press. This half was without exception written by workers of both sexes, soldiers, sailors, cooks, cabbies, hairdressers etc., etc.

What did these letters of both the skilled and unskilled labourers deal with? They described the manner of life in the respective factory, shop and barrack, or in the respective proletarian quarter. All sufferings and the abuse which fall to the lot of the proletarians, were described in simple words.

The letters furthermore exposed the machinations of factory, shop and state administrations. Taken in all, they conveyed an idea of the hardships, and poverty the masses of workers had to endure; they reflected that suppressed and slowly growing protest which afterwards found voice in the great Revolution. The paper became a teacher of the workers who were actively taking part in it. Thus, it grew to be a friend in every workers hut, in every proletarian family, in every public house frequented by workers etc., etc. If a letter from some factory or harrack appeared in it, the paper was literally fought for in that factory or barrack. The workers acquired the habit of reading these letters. When a letter from some factory appeared in the paper, it was an event of first rate importance for the entire factory. If the letter contained an exposure it was read by party members and non-partisans. Thus, the paper became a danger signal for all who abused the workers.

It is said, however, that in the West it would be difficult or nearly impossible to accept such letters, some comrades maintaining that such grievances are being addressed to the Trade-Unions. So, for instance, the German worker is in the habit of addressing all complaints to his representative in his respective Trade-Union. It is certain that the workers in the West are in the habit of doing a number of things, just as certain as that many things would prove difficult. We must remodel all this, however, and repeat that we want to create a new type of a proletarian newspaper. A Communist daily should under no circumstances devote space to "high politics" so-called; it must, on the contrary, devote three quarters of its columns to the doings of the workers, to these daily occurrences especially of which the workers life is composed. This should be done just because the workers are in the habit of addressing the previously mentioned grievances to the old Trade-Unions, which, as is well known, are to a large extent under the domination of the reformist agents of capitalism. For this very reason we, Communists, must endeavour to collect and publish in the papers material of that description. This will prove to be one of the best means whereby we can succeed in digging away the ground from under the feet of the Trade-Union bureaucracy. Our dailies must become true schools of Communism: they should not only serve the political struggle of the workers, but the economic struggle as well.

Our papers must compete with those of the bourgeoisie and the other parties. They should contain exhaustive and informative material which must be arranged in such a way as to make it attract attention. On the first page a number of paragraphs should be arranged giving in summary form the contents of the paper. We must never forget what attracts the average worker to papers of the type of the Morgenpost of Berlin or that of Le Journal of Paris. We must learn much from such papers as the "Daily Herald" which strives to serve the workers and their families in all phases of life. In order to enable us to compete successfully with bourgeois and other papers we must publish everything concerning us, everything the bourgeois press cannot publish, such as letters written by workers of both sexes in the factories, by soldiers etc., etc.

A second argument very often heard is that the average worker in the West is not used to writing, and that affairs of that description are referred to the representatives. This argument can easily be refuted. The workers of the West are on a much higher level of culture than their Russian brothers were a few years ago.

If at that time it proved possible in Russia to win the working masses for contributors to their paper, the attempt will succeed even better in other countries. All that is necessary is that the Parties settle down to this task and that they clearly

It will be far from easy at first; the letters will be written clumsily and incoherently. The need will arise for a special department in every paper, as at that period it did in the "Pravda". The task of this department will be to correct the letters of the workers. It will in the beginning be necessary to encourage and assist the workers and even to jot down their reports. Many of the letters sent in by the workers will have to be rewritten — that does not matter however, because the work is worth the labour expended on it.

Our present papers are much too dry and remind one too much of the papers of the old type. Much of their contents is of interest only to professional politicians and not to the average worker, farm labourer, cook and soldier. Their language is interwoven with "learned" words; many of their articles are too long and too dry. We strive too hard to imitate the "decent" papers. All this must be altered.

In order to improve matters in a systematic manner, it is necessary that a number of contributors be won in every great enterprise, shop, coal pit and railroad line. These categories of workers must be gathered and patiently and systematically taught how they should write in their papers; they must periodically be made to study the character of the paper and must attentively be listened to, if they have some practical proposals to make.

We must create a new Communist reporter. We must be less interested in what happens in the lobbies of Parliament and instead pay attention to the factories, shops, workers' flats and schools, etc., etc. Reports of the babbling in Parliament should be neglected in favour of those on workers' meetings, the needs of the workers, the increase of the price of foodstuff etc., etc.

The "Pravda" published many poems written by workers. These poems were not what they should have been from the view-point of licensed critics, but they reflected the true sentiment of the working masses better than many a lengthy article. The average worker is very fond of a good expression and of well-deserved biting ridicule of the enemy. A well drawn cartoon squarely hitting the mark, is worth more than a dozen of dull "marxian" articles so-called. Our papers must carefully seek out people capable of serving the revolution with the pencil; they must from time to time publish cartoons which tend to enliven the issue and in a simple manner explain everything that should be explained. From time to time stories must be published treating of workers, because the masses can best read and are very fond of imaginative literature. Very often we must, instead of the "leader", print some important letter from a worker or workers' group, or publish the picture of some arrested workers, or of a proletarian, sentenced by bourgeois judges, who has made a valiant stand during his trial, etc., etc.

As few as possible digressions, as much as possible facts that is what we need at the present time.

Every occurrence in factory or shop must find an echo in the columns of our papers. Every list of nominations of the enemy should be examined to the very last detail. The papers must in a systematic manner throw light on all phases of the struggle in the factories. Our struggle with political enemies — beginning with the bourgeoisie down to the "independent" socialists must become more vivid and spirited and less automatic than it has been heretofore. To make a long story short: we must not endeavour to imitate the usage prevailing "in the best of families" but strive to give apart from first class information which is necessary, material making it possible for party members and non-partisans to fully understand and be fond of the central organs of our Parties.

The altering of the character of our papers in the manner outlined will enable us to change their financial basis and make of them a connecting link between us and the masses. If we create a paper of such a spirit, we shall succeed in attaining what the "Pravda" attained during the time of Tsarism: that the workers, by taking up small collections, obtain the funds necessary for the publication of our papers. If we alter the character of our papers the workers will be interested in obtaining means for their papers. Sympathisers with the various Communist papers will spring up like mushrooms. The collections made by these friends should be reported from time to time in our press and will serve as means of agitation. Again, if a group of our leaders have been arrested in one factory, the workers in this and the neighbouring factories should commence making collections on behalf of the families of the arrested. The papers should duly report all this. A report should appear in the papers on every workers' meeting and demonstration; not in the old manner, however, but in vivid pen pictures which should, if possible, be written by participants, giving in simple words an account of each and every occurrence. Under such a management every issue, every single line will tend to strengthen and encourage the hatred of capitalism.

It need hardly be mentioned that a real international news service will play the most important part in Communist dailies, if for no other reason than that they are international. In accordance with the decision of the III. Congress the E. C. of the C. I. is organising a new periodical which, beginning with the third week in September, will be published in four languages at Berlin as a Communist bulletin for information. We will endeavour to arrange a well organised international news service. This can only be accomplished, however, if every Party pays special attention to this very important organisation and provides us with the necessary staff.

A well organised and well informed Communist daily which is gaining for itself continually new friends, a paper which becomes a true platform of the workers and the alarm bell of the proletariat, such a paper will be a powerful weapon in the struggles of the Communist Parties.

Now, comrades, strain all your energies for the creation of the new type of such a truly proletarian newspaper.

With Communist Greetings

The E. C. of C. I.

(signed) Zinovieff, President.

P.S. We urgently request all editors of our organs to immediately call a conference of their contributors and invite also to this conference the workers of the greater factories and shops. We request that the contents of this circular be discussed in this conference and the Executive be informed of the result.

We also request that the subject be discussed at the important conferences of towns and districts.

In order to effect by an international exchange of opinion, practical and desirable alterations, we are willing to open the columns of our organ "The Communist International" to the discussion necessary for this purpose.

FROM THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Second-and-a-Half International and Austrian Social Democracy.

By Franz Koritschoner.

The Second-and-a-Half International is the legitimate child of the Austrian Social Democracy which for its part had grown out of a consciously reformist tradition, disguised and interwoven with radical phrases. The fathers of the Austrian "socialist" state were versed in the art of posing as radicals before the masses and at the same time of negotiating in the traditional manner with the imperial ministers. The repulsive haggling transacted in the lobbies of Parliament was bashfully covered up with radical appeals to the revolutionary masses, whose energy in turn was used to intimidate the government into concluding political business transactions. This policy employed towards the monarchy with varying success was continued in the period of "democracy".

The Social Patriots and Imperialists compromised by the policy they had been advocating during the War, the annexionist Renner and the Social Nationalist Leuthner stepped out of the limelight, in order to manage matters efficiently behind the scenes. Friedrich Adler, the spoiled son of the great organiser and politician, remained in the foreground, however, and explained to all and every one the intricacies of the modern politics of opposition; he no longer took seriously the slogans he had formerly struggled for and sheltered behind his name and revolutionary past. Adler's programme was the unity of all proletarian parties on one common platform, an imposing phrase intended to disguise the proposed fraternisation of Centrists and Social Patriots. Under the apparent leadership of Adler and his crowd, the party is struggling to carry through Renner's political programme which consists of a coalition with the bourgeoisie with the object of obtaining Austria's economic reconstruction with the support of the Allies, and of a flirtation with the idea of joining Germany. In other words it implies a surrender to the wishes of capitalism both at home and abroad. The Austrian party at home has indeed carried through the programme of the Second-and-a-Half International. The Union of Centrists and Social Patriots without a preceeding split is to be confirmed and strengthened. While the bourgeoisie adopts offensive measures, partly abolishing the eight hour day and chasing the Communist shop stewards out of the factories, while the police troops side openly with the monarchist conspirators who, having left the hiding places of illegal existence, are once more facing the workers on the open field — while all this takes place, the Social Democrats are

still advocating the policy of defensive at any price and of keeping intact the republican army and retaining the acquisitions of democracy. Even these insignificant successes of the revolution can be retained and strengthened only by the workers taking action on their behalf.

Julius Deutsch, the Austrian *Noske* without arms has in a truly classical manner confessed the betrayal of the Social Democrats to all the world. The Social Democrats have during the war supported imperialism with a view to creating the necessary pre-requisites for a retention of Hapsburg rule; they have in a later period perfected and increased the militia, not in order to support the proletariat, but to suppress it and proclaim an empire of the bourgeoisie, the republic of the aristocracy of money bags.

While all the talk was going on about socialising the industries, the sorry remains of these plans were buried with the leasing of the Willersdorfer ammunition factories to a newly founded private concern, the bourgeoisie prepared for a counter-attack. While the Social Democrats were holding the masses back by pointing to the proletarian army, the bourgeoisie formed an army of its own. The policy of reformism has proved a complete failure.

Both camps are under arms and facing each other. Economic facts have proved to be a stronger argument than the democratic illusions of the Social-Demokratie leaders. The policy of the Second International, the policy of capitalist economic reconstruction is being made palatable to the masses by seasoning it with the democratic common place of peace between the classes and social pacifism and with incoherent formulae on the keeping up of the class struggle. The unification of the Second and Second-and-a-Half International under the leadership of the old *Social Democratic demagogues* and under the banner of *Centrist ideology* is taking place. The internal collapse of the Second International is certain to engulf and bury under its ruins the deserters from Social Imperialism.

The Communist Labour Party of Germany Against the Communist International.

In consequence of the debates in the second and third world's congress of the Communist International the interest in the Communist Labour Party of Germany is greater in foreign countries than corresponds to the importance of that party. In autumn 1919 the KAP. separated from the KPD. (Spartacus Union), because it wanted to make a principle of anti-parliamentarism and rejected the principle of work in the trade-unions. These anarchist and syndicalist tendencies of the KAP. have increased in the course of its development. In all other political questions the KAP. was subject to the greatest vacillations. It overcame the national bolshevism of Laulenber and Wolffheim pretty quickly; both these KAP.-leaders in Hamburg were expelled from the KAP. The absolute denial of any political action was only temporarily accepted by the members of the KAP. The two leaders of this revolutionary movement, Plemfert and Rühle, were likewise expelled from the KAP. With the exception of its adherence to anti-parliamentarism and the rejection of co-operation in trade-unions the KAP. has not been able to develop a clear political programme. In practice it vacillated between open insurrection and pure passivity. Their form of organisation was decided upon with the object of gathering a small number of "pure" communists.

Sometimes the KAP. wished to get as many workers as unions the KAP. has not been able to develop a clear political programme and taking them in only on condition, that they formally acknowledged the dictatorship of the people. Their conduct towards Russia was contradictory and vacillating. The primary inclination to adopt the forms of organisation in Russia (soviet system) to meet the situation in capitalist Germany and to imitate the revolutionary methods of the Russian workers and peasants without regard to the standard of the revolutionary development in Germany has given way to a conscious rejection of the "Russian Eastern European Methods" for the revolution of the world. Thus we find instead of the blind enthusiasm of former times (Jung's booklet on Russia) an antibolshevist standpoint. This standpoint was most obviously marked in the refusal to assist in the action for relief of famine in Russia, on the grounds that Russia was a middle-class, counterrevolutionary state.

At the last congress (Parteitag) of the KAP. in the middle of September in Berlin, the secession of the KAP. from the Communist International was decided upon. The KAP. belonged to

the C.I. as a sympathising member. The request of the third world's congress of the C.I. that the KAP. should submit to all resolutions of the International and should amalgamate with the KPD. was unanimously rejected in this meeting. It may be noted however that the organisation of the KAP. in Dresden (East-Saxony), which next to the Berlin organisation is the most important in Germany, had already previously severed their connection with the KAP. and could therefore not take part in the congress. The congress of the KAP. resolved further to take preliminary measures for the foundation of a new worker's International. The KAP. hopes to find adherents in the ranks of the syndicalists abroad and to take up the war against the C.I. on an international scale.

The KAP. is extraordinarily weak in numbers. After its dissension from the Spartacus Union it comprised about 40—50 000 members the greater part of whom had gradually joined the KPD. again. Last winter the number of members was still estimated at 8000 members. To-day they do not count more than 2—3000 members, who principally belong to the Berlin organisation. In all other towns the KPD. possesses only a few members in most cases only confidential agents, who, however, carry on a very active agitation.

APPEALS

To the Workers of the United States, Issued by the Executive Committee of the C. I.

The famine raging through the Volga districts of Russia has called forth the sympathies of all honest workers throughout the world. The Communist International has called upon the workers of the world irrespective of creed and party to organise relief for the famine-stricken districts in Soviet Russia. To this end the workers of Europe are forming central committees, composed of representatives of all parties, trade-unions, workers co-operatives etc. etc. Today the Communist International is especially appealing to you, workers of America. Organise a non-partisan relief committee for the hungry in Russia. Let the American workers render independent assistance to their famishing Russian fellow workers and give up one day's wages on behalf of the hungry in Russia. Thus Russia can be helped. All gifts in money or in kind must be sent by the workers' representatives to the Soviet Government directly. Organise everywhere and immediately committees for the relief of the hungry in Russia! Do not lag behind the workers of Europe!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

We request all sympathisers to give publicity to this appeal.

To all Communist Parties.

supplement to our appeal and our instruction on the famine problem.

The Little Bureau of the Communist International has adopted the following resolution:

"A number of bourgeois governments, which at the beginning were at least in words willing to help Soviet Russia, are now commencing to express intentions of intervention. In connection with this are the vacillations of the various groups and parties of the Second and Second-and-a-Half International. The Executive insists that we propose to these groups and parties to collaborate in the organisation of the relief action. One condition must always be made, however: The relief action must under no circumstances be carried out by any bourgeois government whatsoever but by a special inter-partisan committee, which is to be appointed by all proletarian parties."

(signed)

The president of the Executive.
A. Zinovieff.

The members of the Little Bureau of the Executive: Souvarine, Giennari, Heckert, Bela Kun, Radek, Bucharin.

Having at our disposal an abundance of material and especially theoretical articles, this issue of the I. P. C. contains more material than will be the case with the further issues.